113, 101, 184, 565, 463 Tuareg MS25

[For information on the Tuareg see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 204-210.]

1: Lhote--1 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Book IV

The Tuareg of the Ahaggar

Social Organization

The Ahaggar Confederation

Chapter 1

Social Organization

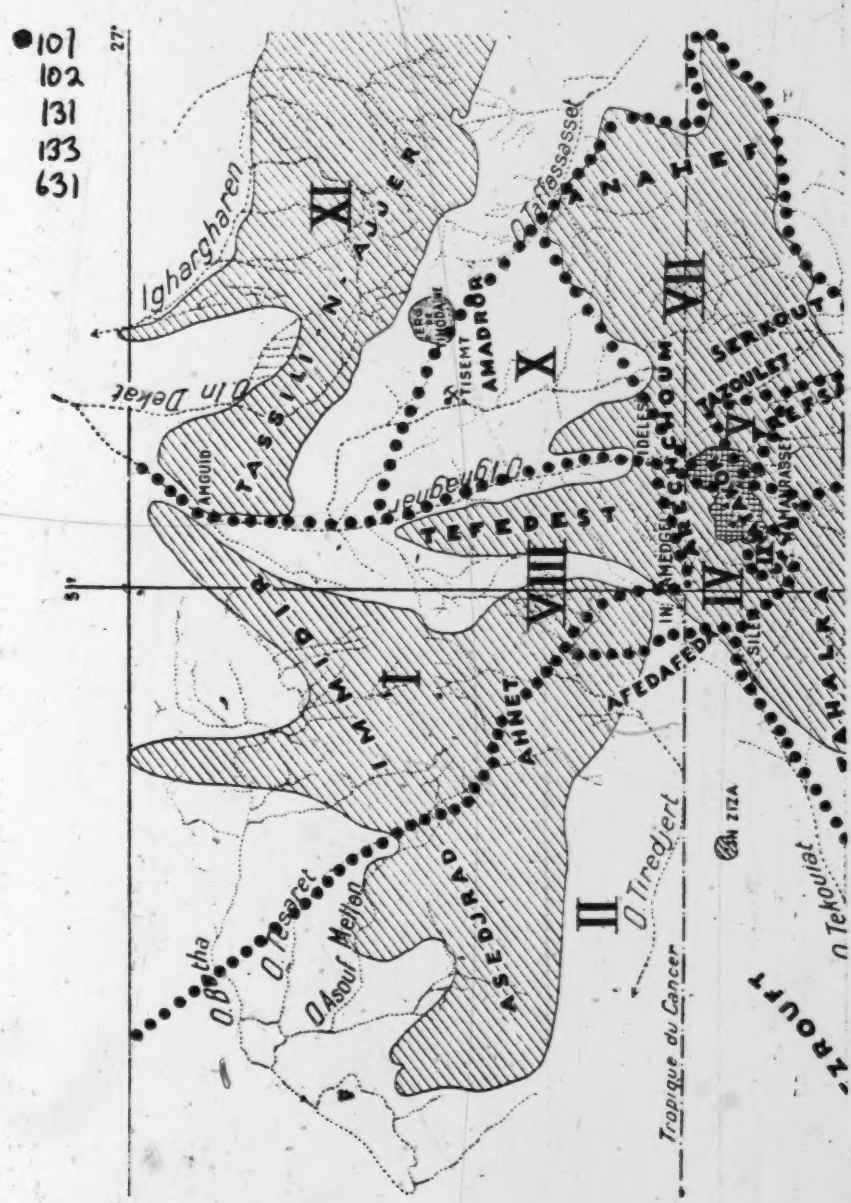
101 [184 177] Here we shall speak of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar. But since all of the Tuareg form a quite homogeneous ethnic group, what we say about their /Tuareg of the Ahaggar/ social organization will, in general, be valid for the whole, although their social organization remained more sheltered from foreign influences than that of the other groups, because of their isolation in the heart of the Sahara.

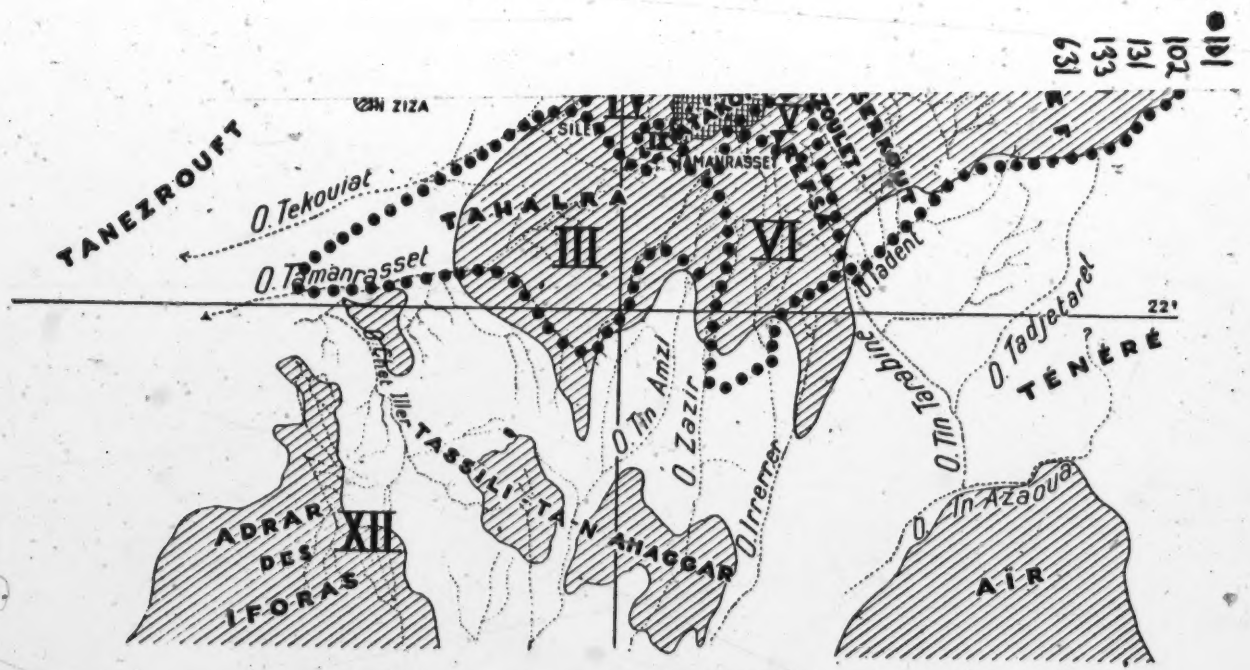
The Ihággaren /Ahaggaren/ may thus be considered, as a result of that isolation, the witnesses and representatives of Tuareg civilization.

565 Classes and castes. -- Social organization among them /the Tuareg/ shows strong analogies with our ancient feudal system. Indeed, there is a chief whose nominal authority holds sway over all the tribes, a class system (aserkam) which divides tribes into suzerains and vassals, religious elements and serfs, enfeoffed the ones to the others, and an artisan class.

564 565 Classes in so-called primitive societies are born out of private property, wealth, and the authority of the strong who become the protectors of the weak, and have had as a corollary war and slavery. The caste system, which is an accentuated form of the class system,

1: Lhote--41a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25





Map IV. Areas of nomadization of Ahaggar tribes.

I. Issekkemâren.
S. f. Kel In-Rhar'
Kel Amgid
Kel Tâfedest
Kel Immîdir
Ihéiaoueà-Hâda
Isselamaten
Kel I-n-Tounîn
Kel Terourirt

II. Tâitok et Kel Ahnet

III. Ikechchemâden
Iklan-en-Táoussit
Tégéhé-n-Efis

IV. Dag-Râli
Ibettenâten
Irréguénaten

V. Kel Tazoûlet

VI. Agouh-en Tehlé

VII. Ait Loajen

VIII. Tégéhé-Mellet

IX. Ikadeien

X. Zone of salt marshes open to all tribes, but owned by the Amenokal.

XI. Ajjer Tuareg

XII. Zone of exceptional nomadization of the Ibettenâten, Irreguenaten, Ikadeien, and Kel Ahnet.

Scale: 1/5, 000, 000.

631 The amrar of the Taïtok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

• 101 The Taïtok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf Ahnet to /205/ their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas, op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631 565 [582] The Taïtok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the vassals, proud of being called Taïtok, espouse all the rivalries of their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tioussé which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 648 [101] Thieves to end all thieves, the Taïtok have still been able to keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of Akabli who sometimes nomadized in the Adrar Ahnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrar, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

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Chapter 3

Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
[252 their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in
484] the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

[101] It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong culturally to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

In the last few years a number of notables, including the aménokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them to avoid rocks.

The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

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Chapter 2

War and Raiding

The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case

114 closer look and find out just what really does go on in the bosom of such a seemingly impossible community. The best general source on the Ahaggar Tuareg is probably Blanguernon (1955), while Benhazera (1908) gives some valuable demographic data and Lhote (1947 and 1955) supplies a mass of miscellaneous details. But all these works are in French: Rodd (1926), writing in English, gives a fairly good general picture of the Tuareg as a whole although he deals primarily with the Aïr.

●101 The Tuareg of the Sahara proper, as we have defined it, are divided into three confederations, those of the Tassili n Ajjer, the Ahaggar and the Adrar n Ifoghas, distributed in that order from Northeast to Southwest. [161] There are probably only about 10,000 or 11,000 of them in all, for most of the Tuareg, some 140,000 strong, now live outside our area in the Aïr and the northern central Sudan. We will take the Ahaggar confederation as our Tuareg socio-economic sample because this group not only seems to have remained the least affected by foreign influence but has also been the most extensively studied and described, and because it is the only one with which the author is personally familiar.

101 The Tuareg as a whole used to range over
166 an enormous territory extending roughly as
131 far north as Ouargla, eastward to Gatroun, westward to a bit beyond a line running from Aoulef to Timbuctoo, and southward to below the Niger Bend and the northern border of Nigeria. The eastern, northern and western limits of this range have been slowly driven back over the last few centuries, first by ever stronger Arab pressure from the East and North and then by the gradual southward extension of French and, more recently, Italian control. These steadily increasing pressures have produced a steadily increasing though fluctuating flow of the Tuareg population southward from the Desert proper, through the Aïr and the Adrar n Ifoghas and into the Sudan. Under the stimulus of disaster in one form or another, this flow has occasionally become torrential for brief periods, as when, following the suppression of the 1916–18 rebellion, a great wave of Aïr Tuareg moved into British Nigeria (Rodd, 1926, p. 361) and the main body of the Taïtoq tribe left their home range in the western Ahaggar for the

country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote, 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the latest major episodes in a general southwestward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

The military administrative unit known as the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabitants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

Social Organization. The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] *A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

551 104 *Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in as many different ways as are the geographical names of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

622 *A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

565 theory, to that of ordinary vassals (Lhote,
173 1955, p. 236), but in fact they are looked
614 down upon as greatly inferior to Tuareg vassal clans (Blanguernon, 1955, p. 52). Although the Issoquamaren clans and fractions have been parceled out among various tribes of the Ahaggar confederation, they still seem to retain some remnants of the social structure of a single and united tribe. Since the Issoquamaren have become rich in camels, they have regained in practical power and influence most of what they once lost in hierarchical prestige.

[131] The Irreguenaten are based on the Tamesna region south of the Ahaggar, and nomadize from there northwestward across the Adrar n Ifoghas sometimes even as far as the Erg Chech (pronounced *Sbesh*). They are believed to have sprung from a series of marriages between Gouraran and Kounta Arab men and Tuareg women of the Ibotenaten clan. The descendants of these unions became so numerous and so very rich, in camels and in slaves, that they were finally able to establish a separate clan of their own. Although they are included in the vassal category, they enjoy a nebulous but well-recognized position of precedence in relation to most of the other Tuareg vassal clans.

The Irreguenaten constitute a matri-clan subdivided into two patri-clans, the Haggarenin and the Settafnin, which are based on supposed descent from two ancestral Arab groups, one of them thought to have been of Shorfa stock. And this is very interesting as an example of a matrilineal clan structure that has been effectively split into two patrilineal clans while still remaining basically a unit in the matrilineal terms of Tuareg social and politico-economic organization and, to a great extent, in terms of its own internal economic organization too.

565 It will be noted that the partly Arab clans
614 of the Ahaggar Tuareg confederation live for the most part outside the Ahaggar proper,
●101 and are distributed in an arc that curves
131 around its southwestern, western and northwestern borders. The northwestern extremity of this arc continues curving eastward, then southeastward and finally on southward around the territory of the Ajjer Tuareg confederation. The southern gap in the circum-

565 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the
614 Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern
● 101 Aïr. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of
131 this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 There have probably never been many
174 Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in
563 the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them have lived there for a long time now. Arab
[797] Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first arrived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century,
[591] through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since
[611] rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

ⵜⴰⵙⵙⴰ ⵏ ⵜⵉⵎⴰⵀⴰⵇ ⴰⵔ ⵜⵉⵎⴰⵣⵉⵖⵜ

ⵜⴰⵍ ⵉⴳ ⵜⵍⵍⴰ ⵜⴰⵙⵙⴰ, ⵉⵙⵙⴳ ⴷⵉⵜ

The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

Political Systems Of Pastoral Tuareg In Air And Ahaggar.

By JOHANNES NICOLAISEN

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive area of the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. The territory dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° North Latitude and between 5° West Longitude and 10° East Longitude. They fall into seven main groups or major political units (fig. 1) comprising 240,000–300,000 individuals, their negro slaves excluded. The two northernmost groups (the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer) live in the true desert country and number less than 10,000 or about 3% of all Tuareg. In Ahaggar the number according to statistics of 1950 is 4,611. The Air Tuareg further south are more numerous and seem to comprise more than 20.000 individuals (cf. Lhote 1947, p. 15f. & 1955, p. 157).

This study of Tuareg political systems has as its foundation a part of my own field material collected in 1951 (in Ahaggar), 1952 (in Tassili-n-Ajjer), 1953 (in Ahaggar), and 1954–55 (in Ahaggar including Ahnet, and in Air). I have spent about two years in these Tuareg countries living most of the time in Ahaggar and adjacent regions, while my stay further south in Air was limited to six months.

It is my intention here to describe the political systems of Air and Ahaggar, but as my final task is concerned with their origin I find it necessary to take up also more general aspects of Tuareg culture and the distribution of certain cultural traits. I shall make use also of Tuareg oral traditions and of the very comprehensive material on Tuareg history gathered by Arab historians and geographers of the Middle Ages. Thus I do not follow the ordinary lines of any particular anthropological school.

I am much indebted to Dr. Birket-Smith (University of Copenhagen) from whom I acquired my general anthropological knowledge together with a keen interest in historical problems, and to Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry of the London University where I have learnt what I know about social anthropology. Dr. Phyllis Kaberry has taken a profound interest in my studies, and I feel grateful for her kind help and assistance in all matters concerning Tuareg political systems and Tuareg social structure in general.

My journeys among the Tuareg were carried out by means of grants from various Danish foundations, notably Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsberg Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet, and Jens Lohmand Rasmussens Rejselegat. During my last journey The University College London assigned me a grant without which I should not have been able to gather the material here presented

(p. 67)

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

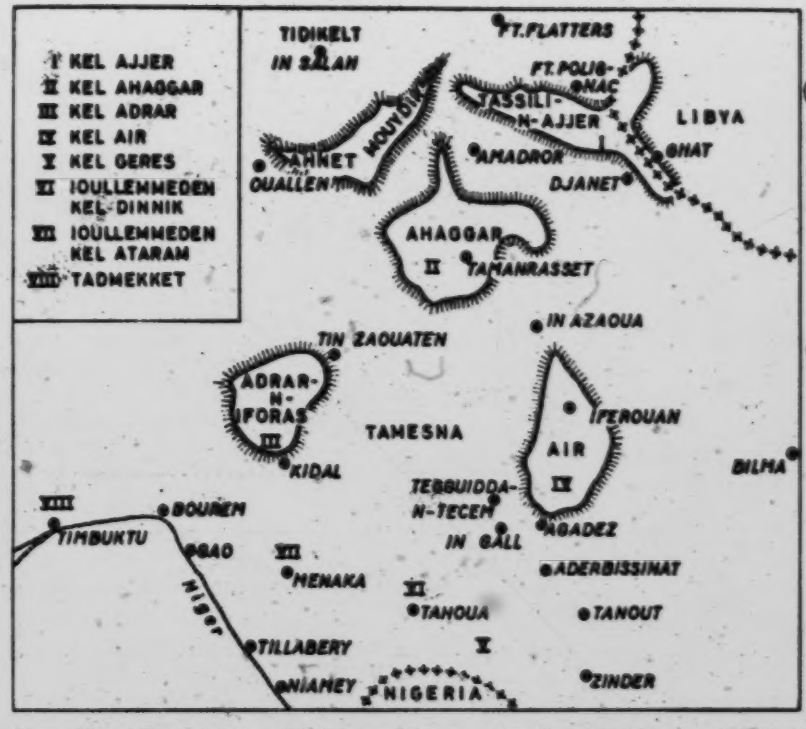

Fig. 1.–Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg, who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups as mentioned in the text are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. – The Tadmekket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Ioullemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 160 kilometres.

those surviving, although emaciated, will quickly recover as soon as the rainfall starts again. In addition it is often very difficult to take goats through the barren desert country south of Ahaggar without severe loss. With camels, which are also very important domestic animals, things are different. Camels make a great demand on fodder, they are very valuable, can be sold for rather high prices in the oases, and they have a very slow increment compared with goats. For these reasons it is necessary or desirable to keep herds of camels in the south when pastures are dry in Ahaggar, and camels can be taken through the barren desert country without much difficulty. In dry years many Ahaggar Tuareg have their camel-herds in Tamesna, about 500 kilometres from the camps in Ahaggar, and there are even nomads who keep their she-camels constantly in these regions, where the animals are guarded by herdsmen who are frequently slaves.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

114 174 233 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII[e] siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227)

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui fait leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 249). Most Arab historians confirm that the 175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the ●101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions: 233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature 175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding 233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly 171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is 233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the [177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black [342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common [462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is [825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their [538] breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

mentioned that the word *Ihaggaren (Ahaggar)* is perhaps derived from *Hoouara*, which was a common term for certain Berber tribes particularly living in Tripolitania in the Middle Ages. According to Edrisi the Hoouara Berbers were originally Arabs who adopted Berber language (Edrisi p. 66ff.). This is not proved by Ibn Khaldoun's important work on the history of the Berbers. But Ibn Khaldoun states that the Hoouara came under Arab influence at a very early date, and some of the pastoral Hoouara people apparently migrated southwards to the desert at a later date than the Lemta (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275ff.).

I think that the ancestors of the noble Tuareg introduced the camel into the Sahara. I think too that this may have happened before the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. But some of the dominating noble Tuareg have emigrated from Tripolitania after the Arabs have arrived. And it is probable that the political systems of the Tuareg already very early were influenced by the Arabs among whom a class system is found even nowadays as described from Cyrenaica by Evans-Pritchard. In that region there are client tribes known as *Marabtin alsaqan* because they pay *sadaka*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the privilege of using the earth and water. Some fragments of client tribes even to-day have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live (Evans-Pritchard 1949, p. 53).

The word *sadaqa*, a fee, is known to the Tuareg, and there are other Arabic words connected with their political systems. Here I shall content myself with reference to the word *khalifa* used among the Northern Tuareg for the deputies of a chief, and the very important word *ettebel* meaning "drum", "drum-group", and in Air also "drum-chief". Ultimately the history of Tuareg political systems should probably be viewed in connection with those of Arabs.

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291 /100 cont./ The layers of leather may be a centimeter thick; the sewing of the leather with large stitches permits decoration. A long thong connects the leather buckles sewn on the sole and is tied over the instep. The elegant footwear is the "ighatimen."

293 A description of the Targui's apparel must include all of the objects he wears including weapons.

The "taralabt" is a leather wallet hung from the neck. An ingenious system of grooved closings keeps it from opening; it is always black and artistically decorated with yellow, green, or red stitching. Numerous inside pockets serve to hold the mirror, the "tazolt" (eye blacking, sometimes kept in a special case), the "chemma" (chewing tobacco), the "kelbou" (natron used to make tobacco milder), personal papers, and sometimes money.

Amulets called "tera" hang from the neck by a leather string; these are small leather rectangles containing either papers written by a taleb /public scribe/ or magic products protecting against sickness, the Kel es Souf /genii/, and misfortune in general. Each Targui is abundantly provided with tera, which make his life bearable.

293 /101/ The "iremdan" ("menguech" in Arabic) is an in-
752 dispensable instrument; it consists of a cutting blade, an awl,
296 and small pincers (something like eyebrow tweezers) These blades pivot around an axis; a ring makes it possible for the iremdan to be hung, but it is often carried in a special case. This tool is in turn a surgeon's kit for pulling tahla thorns from the soles of the feet and a cobbler's tool for repairing nails /sandals/. A Targui never undertakes a trip without his iremdan.

301 We have already mentioned the "abidj," or polished stone bracelet. The "tissak" is a small silver ring without artistic value. The key to the Tuareg padlock, which is often suspended on the chest, is a much prized ornament.

411 No Targui undertakes an important trip without his "takouba," the sword worn at the side which gives that

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[For an extensive list of the names of Tuareg political and other social groups or categories, including relevant page references, see category 116, pp. 534-37.]

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(2) In winter 1950 I visited several *Kabyle* villages in the Djurdjura Mountains, and stayed for some time in the regions which I had already visited in summer 1947. I wanted to gather supplementary material on the consequences of the drought period, and also to acquire some personal knowledge of winter life among nomads. – Part of the material collected 1947 and 1950 has been published (Nicolaisen 1950).

On later journeys to Northern Africa I have studied culture and society of pastoral Tuareg:—

(3) In summer 1951 I spent about five months (May–September) in Ahaggar. I arrived at Algiers from where I travelled southwards by car to make short stops at Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea, and In Salah. Reaching Tamanrasset in Ahaggar in the month of May, I hired an interpreter to visit many Tuareg camps of the important vassal tribes *Aguh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Rali* on journeys accomplished by means of camels and donkeys. Part of the time I also lived at Tamanrasset where I was visited daily by Tuareg informants. Apart from Tamanrasset I visited the following centres of cultivation:— Tit, Utul, Terhenanet, and I-n-dalag. My investigations concentrated upon economics and material culture in relation to environment, and about 300 ethnographic specimens were collected. I left Tamanrasset for Algiers by plane via Ganet (Djanet), Rat (Ghat), Ft. Flatters, and Wargla.

(4) I returned to North Africa in summer 1952. The length of this visit was about three months and a half. From Algiers I went by train and trucks to Arris in the Aurès Mountains where I stayed for about five weeks among the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya*. I rode through the valleys of this montain massif on a mule, and the journey terminated with my arrival at the oasis of Biskra. From Biskra I went by train to Tuggurt from where I continued by truck to Wargla. I left this oasis by a French military plane for Ganet in Tasilé-n-Ajjer via El Golea, In Salah, and Tamanraset. At Ganet I hired camels and a native guide and went westwards via Ft. Ghardel to Afara, where I had the opportunity to meet the supreme chief of the *Kel Ajjer* living in French territory. From Afara I went up the valley named Aharhar and across the Tasilé Mountains to Élézi (Ft. Polignac). After a short rest with the French garrison I went northwards to the region of Hassi Issendjel, where I visited various Tuareg camps, notably of the tribes *Kel Terurit* and *Urapen*. I stayed in Tasilé-n-Ajjer for six weeks, and returned by plane to Algiers via Ft. Flatters and Wargla. From Algiers I made a very short trip to the *Kabyle* of the Djurdjura Mountains. From the Kabyle, the Chawiya, and the Ajjer Tuareg an ethnographical collection of about 70 specimens was made.

(5) From autumn 1952 until summer 1954 I studied social anthropology in University College London under Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry. My studies in London were interrupted in summer 1953 when I went to North Africa to stay for three months among the Ahaggar Tuareg. I lived most of the time in camps of the vassal tribes *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*, but I also visited the *Iklan-en-tawsit* and camps of certain *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes, notably the *Iheyawen-Hada*. I also paid a visit to camps of the *Kel Rezzi* Tuareg (*Ahl Azzi*) who descend patrilineally from Arabs, and I spent several days in the camp of the *Amenukal*, that is the supreme chief elected from the dominant noble tribe of *Kel Rela*. Among agricultural settlements visited the most important were Abalessa and Silet – apart from Tamanraset. My studies concentrated upon social and political organization, but I made an ethnographical collection of more than a hundred specimens. The journey from Algiers to Tamanraset and return was made by plane via El Golea and In Salah.

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(6) My sixth journey to North Africa was undertaken 1954–55 and comprised about 14 months' field-work among Northern and Southern Tuareg. I left Algiers by car via Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea to In Salah at the beginning of the autumn 1954. At In Salah I bought four camels and hired an Arab guide of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe. After a short visit to his camp we went southwards to the region of the Ahnet Massif where I visited camps of *Kel-ahem-mellen* (a small noble tribe), *Kel-Imuklân* (*Iseḳkemaren*), *Ayt Lowayen* of the *Kel Turha* section, *Kel Rezzi*, and notably the *Kel Ahnet*. Two small camps visited claimed to belong to the noble *Taytoḳ* tribe, but they had no matrilineal relationship to that tribe which is now found in the Tamesna plains west of Ayr. I left Ahnet for Tamanṛaset about the middle of December, and in the following months I travelled alone with my camels in Ahaggar as I now knew Tuareg language sufficiently to dispense with an interpreter. Until the beginning of April 1955 I lived in camps of the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes, and passed some days in the *Amenukal*'s camp. I also had a house at Tamanṛaset where I could work more peacefully with problems connected with kinship, land tenure, and political organization. In this work I was mainly assisted by two older Tuareg of the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes. Apart from Tamanṛaset I visited the following cultivation centres:— Utul, Tahart, Ti-n-amenseṛ, Ennedid, Iglen, Abalessa, Amsel, and Taṛhawhawt. – On the 3rd of April, 1955, I left Ahaggar for Ayr together with two Ayr Tuareg who were returning to their camps at Northern Ayr after a caravan journey to Tamanṛaset. We travelled south-eastwards via the small cultivation centre Taṛnut and thence into the very barren country separating Ahaggar from Ayr. We refilled our six skin-bags with water at the wells of I-n-abeggi and I-n-azawa, and had no water again until we arrived at a fairly large and permanent waterhole (*agelman*) known as Tamengoyt, situated on the northern outskirts of the Ayr Massif. Close to this place we met the first Tuareg camps of the *Kel Tédalé* who dominate the northern parts of Ayr. The following days we saw several camps of these Tuareg. At last we arrived at the camp of one of my companions who belonged to the *Iḳḳoheren* tribe though his family was very mixed with *Kel Tédalé*. This camp was situated in the Azel valley, where we stayed for about ten days to regain full strength. Thereupon we continued to *Iferwan* which constitutes the northernmost village of the Ayr Massif. I lived in this village for about three weeks and then I continued towards Agadez together with a Tuareg of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. We visited camps of various tribes on our journey southwards (*Kel Ṛarus*, *Iṛoṛas*). The journey was a difficult one as two of my camels were worn out. We left them in a camp of *Ikoljejiten* Tuareg. This was situated at the Afarak valley from where we continued to Agadez via the small agricultural settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses. From Agadez I went by truck down to Zinder, but returned quickly to make a more complete investigation of the Ayr Tuareg. The situation was now very difficult as my two camels left at Afarak died and I was too short of money to buy a new animal. My financial problems were rather acute and were solved only by the very kind and resolute help rendered me by Professor Daryll Forde of University College London. I was thus able to continue my studies for another six months. I hired a house in Agadez where I could work peacefully, and bought a fine riding camel in order to be able to visit Tuareg camps in the vicinity. The most extensive journey made went to the village of Awderas, north-east of Agadez and close to the Begzen Mountains. On this journey I revisited the small settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses, and visited pastoral camps of the *Iṛoṛas*, the *Ikoljejiten*, the *Kel Tamat*, the *Igen-*

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●101 114 122 *déynen*, and the *Imezzureg*. If not staying in Agadez I lived mainly in camps of the latter tribe, and spent a considerable time in one particular camp. My studies were concluded with a visit to the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief north of Aderbissinat. I remained in his camp for about a fortnight and also visited camps of the *Echchikhen* Tuareg and the Fulani who are numerous in this area. I left Agadez by air via Tawa, Niamey, Bamako to Dakar whence I returned to Denmark by ship, and a few days later returned to London to resume my studies at University College. On this comparatively long journey among the Tuareg I did not make any large ethnographical collection, as I could not afford to buy much, but brought back with me about fifty different specimens plus a few archaeological objects. [126]

(7) In 1956 I returned to Copenhagen from London. I was then planning a new journey to North Africa, but for many reasons this had to be postponed until the autumn 1959. The journey was a very short one of only two months. I left Copenhagen by air on the second of August and arrived at Niamey the next day. After a week's stay at Niamey I continued by plane via Maradi and Zinder to Agadez. The day after my arrival at this ancient capital of the Ayr people I was able to join a car expedition organized by Mr. J. Demonceau, who was studying locust migrations, and by Mr. Claude Gardin of the "Peloton Nomade", who was looking for Tuareg camel thieves. We went first to Ingal and from there continued northwards to the village and salt pits of *Tegidda-n-tésemt*. We went further north but stopped at the well of I-n-abanferit, then going eastwards across the Talak Plains to the western edge of the Ayr Massif. Our journey back to Agadez followed the road through the mountains. Though this journey did not take much more than a week it was of great importance to my studies, as I had for the first time an occasion to see the extensive plains west of Ayr – a region of great economic value to many tribes not only of Ayr Tuareg but also to certain tribes of Ahaggar. On the journey I visited camps of *Idaléyen*, *Kel Tédalé* and *Iforas* (Ayr Tuareg), of *Iregenaten* (Ahaggar Tuareg), and of *Tégehé-n-Efis* (originally Ahaggar Tuareg). In all these camps I collected much valuable material concerning tent structures and economics. – Shortly after my return to Agadez from this brief journey I met a Tuareg of the *Imézzureg* tribe. I knew him well from my visit to Ayr in 1955, and he was in fact my classificatory elder brother. I went immediately to his camp situated not very far from Agadez, and I lived with him and his kinsmen for the rest of the time left at my disposal. During this period the camp was frequently broken and taken to the best possible pastures of annual plants. I left the camp only once for a week when my brother and I made a camel journey westwards to Tegidda-n-tagayt and Tegidda-n-edrar. In these regions we visited several Ayr tribes which I had never been among previously (e.g. *Imezzuren*, *Ijakarkaren*), and we were lucky enough to meet during this journey the supreme chief of the noble *Kel Azel* tribe. We also visited the camp of the drum-chief of the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, who move northwards to Ayr at the end of the rains. I finished my field-work about the sixth of October and was back in Copenhagen by plane via Zinder, Maradi, and Niamey on the tenth. I made a very small ethnographical collection comprising about twenty specimens. My investigations were not concentrated on any particular subject. I acquired valuable supplementary material on such different matters as traditional political systems, kinship, ecology, and technology. [121] [123] [126] [121]

(8) Participating in The First International Congress of Africanists at Accra I had the opportunity

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to visit Niamey for one week at the beginning of December 1962. Here I studied the very valuable ethnographical collections of The IFAN Museum, and I spent two days in camps of *Bélla* and Tuareg of the *Western Iwllemmeden* east and north-east of Ayoru on the Niger. Of particular value was my visit to a camp of the dominant noble tribe, *Kel Tahabanat*. Its supreme chief *Amder* and his family gave me important information on Tuareg culture in this little known area. My visit to Tuareg and *Bélla* near Ayoru was made possible by the very kind assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN. They put a truck with its driver at my free disposition.

Altogether I have spent almost three years among North African pastoralists – mainly among the Tuareg. This length of time is not so impressive as it may seem, for my investigations have been carried out over an extensive territory ranching from the Mediterranean to the outskirts of the Sudanese savannah. A detailed study of Tuareg ecology and culture necessitates a detailed knowledge of change and variation in environment within and without the country in which the Tuareg live.

The literature which deals with the Tuareg is very comprehensive as can be seen from the bibliography at the end of this book, but most publications are of very little value and many of them are almost inaccessible.

The Tuareg are first mentioned in literature by Arab authors of the Middle Ages, but most of these historians and geographers did not know the Tuareg country and even the few of them who travelled in the Sahara tell us very little about the Tuareg in early Arabic texts generally called *Muletthemin*, that is "the veiled ones". The most important Arab authors who mention the Tuareg are Ibn Hawkal (10th century), El-Bekri (11th century), Edrisi (12th century), Ibn Batutah (14th century), and Ibn Khaldun (14th century). Ibn Khaldun gives the most intimate description of the Tuareg though apparently he never met them. But they played a very important part in his attempt to recount the ancient history of the North African Berbers. After Ibn Khaldun came Leo Africanus (16th century) who published information gathered by himself on journeys in the Sahara. His book was first published in Italian. There are certain later Arab authors who have contributed to our knowledge of North African cultures and the Tuareg, e.g., Es-Sadi who lived in the 17th century. We must also mention in this connection that there are other valuable Arabic manuscripts, notably those generally referred to as the Agadez Chronicle, which contain much historical material on the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936; Urvoy 1934).

The first modern description of the Tuareg was given by Hornemann who travelled from Cairo to Murzuk in 1798. Throughout the 19th century many European travellers contributed to our knowledge of the Tuareg, and it is very important now to have their accounts which derive from a time when traditional political systems were unaffected by European colonization. Among these travellers we should mention such outstanding names as Lyon, Caillié, Denham & Clapperton & Oudney, Richardson, Barth, Duveyrier, Rohlfs, Hourst, Foureau, and von Bary. Lyon gives a very valuable description of the Tuareg who live around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but by far the most important among these authorities are Barth, who wrote about the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Ayr*, and the *Iwllemmeden*, and Duveyrier, who published an excellent monograph on the Northern Tuareg with particular reference to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At the beginning of the present century military posts were established in the Sahara, and literature about the Tuareg became more abundant. Thus Benhazera wrote a good book on

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The Tuareg

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive area of Western Sahara and the northern parts of the Western Sudan. The territory dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° Northern Latitude and between 5° Western Longitude and 10° Eastern Longitude.

The Tuareg fall into several main groups which correspond largely to political units. These groups are the following:—

I. *Kel Ajjer*, in the mountains named Tasilé-n-Ajjer in the eastern part of the Algerian Sahara and in adjacent parts of Libya. Northwards they reach Tripolitania and the great sandy desert Erg Oriental around Radames.

II. *Kel Ahaggar*, in the Ahaggar Mountains, in the mountains of Ahnet, Immidir, and Téfedest – and in adjacent parts of the lowland. Certain tribes of the Ahaggar group live in the southern plains of Tamesna between the mountain massifs of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas and Ayr, particularly around I-n-abanṛerit and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

III. *Kel Adṛaṛ*, in the mountains of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas south-west of Ahaggar.

IV. *Kel Ayr*, in the mountain massif of Ayr and in the plains to the west and south. The Tuareg of Ayr form several semi-independent units of which the more important are the *Kel Ewey*, the *Kel Tamat*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan*.

V. *Kel Geres*, south of the Kel Ayr in the plains around Tessawa. Late in summer at the end of the rains they move up to Southern Ayr around the watering places of Tegidda-n-edrar, Tegidda-n-tagayi, and Tafadek.

VI. *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, that is the eastern *Iwllemmeden*, in the plains around Tawa. At the end of the rains they move northwards to the region of Ingal which is within the country of the Ayr Tuareg.

VII. *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*, that is the western *Iwllemmeden*, in the plains around Menaka and along the Niger.

VIII. *Kel Tademaket* comprising several tribes and groups of tribes around Timbuktu and Lac Faguibine. Important among these Tuareg are the *Tengerregif* and the *Kel Inteser*. The *Tademaket* Tuareg from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*.

The two former groups, the *Kel Ajjer* and the *Kel Ahaggar*, are frequently referred to by the generic term of *Northern Tuareg*, while the six latter groups living on the outskirts of the true desert and in the Sudanese savannah are known as *Southern Tuareg*. In addition to these groups there are certain small Tuareg groups which in recent times have left their original homeland. After the French penetra-

[p. 2]

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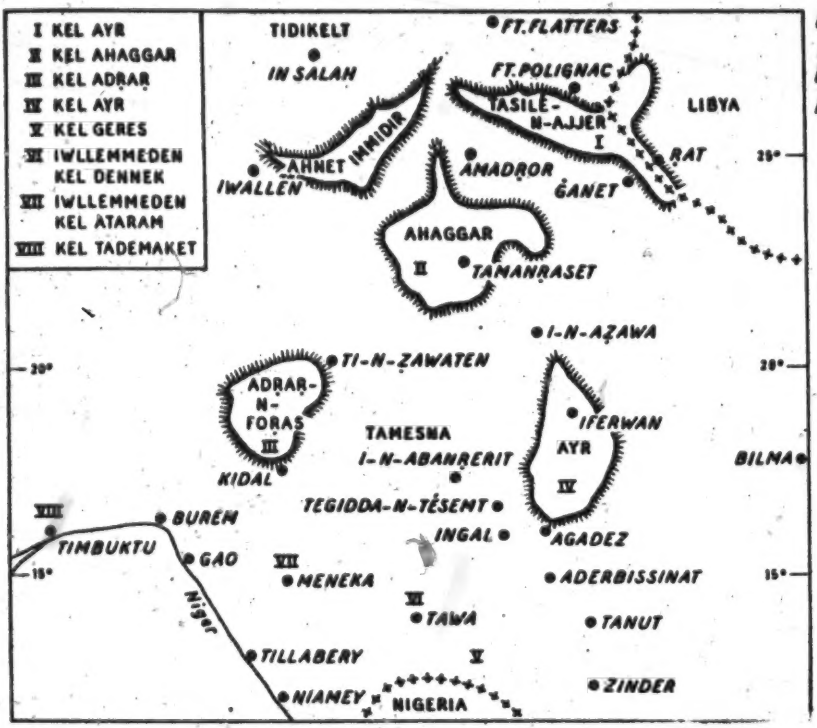

Fig. 1. Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups, as mentioned in the text, are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. The *Kel Tademaket* Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 125 kilometres.

known and used particularly by women. There are slight distinctions in the characters of the alphabet used by various Tuareg groups. I here reproduce the characters generally used in Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and in Ayr. In transcribing *tifinar* into the Roman alphabet I have on the whole adopted the system used by Foucauld who has made the most profound studies of the northern dialect (Foucauld 1918-20, 1920, 1925-30, 1940, 1951-52), but certain alterations have been made in agreement with the proposal of K.-G. Prasse. The Ayr dialect is very badly known. Its grammar and its peculiar vocabulary has never been studied.

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Imrad (sing. *Amerid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imrad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Geres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imrad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Daga* or *Dara* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imrad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imrad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren, Imajeren*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Ineslemen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Ineslemen* or marabuts are called *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeren* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one: – It may be related to the word *Targa* (Ayr) or *Targa* (Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Ages that the word *Targa* or *Targa* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Ajjer* living around the oases of Rat and Radames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

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Fig. 12. Blacksmith woman. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

563 they more frequently refer to mulattoes as *Ichardanen* (sing. *Acharda*). Such mulattoes do not form any particular class or caste.

It is stated in almost all writings on the Tuareg that the offspring of mixed marriages will acquire the social status of their mothers, but though this may be theoretically true in some Tuareg groups actual conditions are more complicated. Among *Ineslemen* Tuareg and generally in southern Tuareg
[564] groups there is a strong tendency to acknowledge patrilineal affiliation. In Ahaggar classes and castes
[565] should ideally be matrilineal organizations. However, this is not always so. A man who descends from a vassal mother and a noble father will not become a true vassal. He will not have to perform any of the obligations characteristic of the vassal class, and to-day he is normally considered noble
563 though he cannot succeed to chieftainship in his father's tribe. If a pastoral Tuareg marries a woman
591 of one of the black-skinned castes the children who grow up in the father's camp will frequently remain there as pastoralists and members of their father's tribe. Conversely children descending from a black-skinned father of an agricultural settlement and a fair-skinned pastoral woman will often remain in the settlement to practise agriculture even after their father's death. As to offspring of marriages between Tuareg men and slave women, they will continue to live in the father's tribe as pastoralists, and will frequently acquire the social position of the father as mentioned later in the description of Tuareg slavery. Mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and people of black-skinned castes constitute a minority. But it seems as if such marriages are on the increase.

101 All the above mentioned peolpe are Tuareg-speaking though part of the sedentary agriculturists of
563 Ahaggar (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) have Arabic as their mother tongue. In Ahaggar there are also many
[197] true Arabs – particularly at the administration centre of Tamanṛaset. There are also Arabs at certain other villages in Ahaggar, and there are Arab pastoralists. They have largely mixed with the Tuareg, and certain Arab pastoralists such as the *Ahl Azzi* (*Kel Ṛezzi*) should be classed rather with Tuareg than with Arabs. There are also some Arabs in Ayr. There are Arab traders at Agadez, Iferwan, and Ingal, and there are a few Arab pastoralists who have mixed with pastoral Tuareg of Northern Ayr.

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But pastoralists of Arab descent are limited to a few scattered individuals or families in the Ayr area in contrast to the extended Sudanese country around the Niger, where whole pastoral tribes claim patrilineal descent from Arabs, while matrilineally most of them are Tuareg.

There are many other people within the extended country inhabited by the Tuareg. Very important in the south is a numerous population of Hausa-speaking Negroes. The so-called *Imeggedezen* (sing. *Ameggedez*) of Agadez speak Hausa which language is spoken by various other sedentary people of that region and further south. There are also a few Sonray-speaking people at Agadez, and Ingal further west is predominantly inhabited by Sonray-speakers known to the Ayr Tuareg as *Isaweren*. The Sonray, as is well known, are now found almost exclusively along the Niger, but Ayr was once conquered by the Sonray, and Barth describes Agadez as a Sonray-speaking city.

In the south the pastoral Fulani are now invading the grazing grounds formerly reserved to and owned by the Tuareg. Camps of pastoral Fulani are frequently seen nowadays even as far north as the southern outskirts of the Ayr Massif around Agadez and Ingal. When grazing is good the Fulani may even move further north into the Talak plains with their herds of long-horned cattle. Many other people are frequently met in Tuareg country, e.g. the Tebu, and the Kanuri, who frequently come to Agadez. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are even a few individuals who descend from Tebu women.

Fig. 13. Mother and son. Slaves of the Tuareg in Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Environment

Tuareg country ranges from comparatively fertile savannah in the south to barren desert in the north, where the nomads live in or near mountainous regions. Four Tuareg groups are named after the dominant mountains of the Western Sahara, namely those of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, and Ayr.

The mountains of Ahaggar are by far the highest. They consist predominantly of archaic and proterozoic rocks, and of basalt and tufa from a relatively recent period. They are generally of a very dark colour and characterized by formations of rugged ranges, craters and isolated peaks which also bear evidence to former volcanic activity. But the rugged contours of the Ahaggar Mountains are also created by a complicated network of river valleys eroded mainly during the pluvial periods contemporary with the European Ice Age.

The Ahaggar Mountains fall into three main massifs of which that named Atakor is the most important and the highest, with peaks up to 3000 metres above sea level (Ilaman, Tahat). To the north is the massif of Téfedest with peaks which surpass an altitude of 2000 metres, and to the east the lower massif named Anahef. In geological structure these three mountain massifs of Ahaggar differ from the mountains of Ahnet, Immidir (Mouydir), and Tasilé-n-Ajjer which surround Ahaggar in the north. These latter massifs consist predominantly of paleozoic sandstone. They are not so high above sea level and form comparatively flat plateaux. The maximum altitude of Ahnet is 1300 metres while the peaks of Immidir rise to 1680 metres. The extensive plateau of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is on average 1200 metres above sea level, but a few peaks in the south exceed 2000 metres. Parts of the Tasilé-n-Ajjer mountains are covered with basalt rocks, and the river valleys of the comparatively level plateau often form true canyons which make traffic much more difficult than in the higher and more rugged mountains of Ahaggar. Between and around the northern mountain massifs the country consists mainly of flat plains covered with gravel and stone. Extensive areas of sandy desert are rare except in parts of the *Kel Ajjer* territory.

Far to the south of Ahaggar are the low mountains of Tasilé-ta-n-Ahaggar, which are structurally related to the *tasilé* mountains in the north. This area is of little importance to the Tuareg and, in contrast to the higher and more extensive massifs of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas and Ayr, is not regularly inhabited. While the mountains of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas are everywhere below 1000 metres, the peaks of Ayr rise to almost 2000 metres above sea level in the east and the north where the country is covered with basalt rocks. Idukalen in the Begzen Mountains is 1900 metres above sea level, while the Tamgak Mountains in the north have a maximum altitude of about 1800 metres. In its most mountainous parts the Ayr

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

temperatures which may be below zero. At a later date the plants of wheat and barley are watered less frequently, and watering ceases completely some time before harvesting in order that the plant may ripen more easily.

The agriculturists of Ahaggar do not manure the garden plots used for wheat and barley. Only a new garden plot never previously cultivated is manured, and when such a garden is made the wild vegetation of grasses, herbs, bushes, and trees is often set on fire. Wheat and barley can be grown in the same garden plot for three or four years in succession, and the soil then needs at least one year's rest. In this way, the same garden plot can be kept under cultivation for many years without manuring: this continuous cultivation on the same spot with a one year's rest for each three or four years cultivation is possible partly because there is a certain crop rotation with other plants grown in summer, but mainly because the agriculturists during the period wheat and barley are grown carry fresh soil to their gardens. This is done not only before sowing but also throughout a long period of the winter when the plants are tender and green. When I stayed in the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel in the months of January and February (1955), all agricultural households worked strenuously from morning to night carrying soil to the green garden plots of wheat and barley. The soil was carried in plaited baskets (cf. Fig. 135) on the head, or in bigger baskets carried by donkeys. The soil was left in small heaps (one in every garden bed) to be spread over and between the green plants (cf. Fig. 137). This extremely strenuous work, I was told, would continue until the month of March.

In spite of the fact that cultivation in Ahaggar is done intensively and much work is connected with it, the yield of winter crops is not a very considerable one. In Abalessa it is said that seed-corn of wheat and barley will normally amount to about 50 kgs, and about 500 kgs is to be considered a normal yield, though certain gardens which are extremely well cultivated may yield more and in rare cases up to one thousand kilogrammes. The gardens I saw at Amsel and Tarhawhawt were smaller than those seen in Abalessa. At Tarhawhawt the quantity of wheat and barley sown, was said to amount to about 35 kilogrammes.

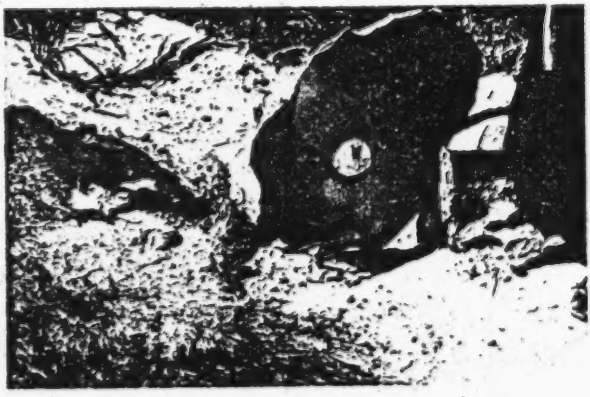

Fig. 134. The flat stone (*awfil*) inserted between the water basin (*tihemt*) and the canal (*tegâkamt*) which leads water towards the gardens. Irrigation stops and the basin runs full of water when a cotton stopper is put into the round hole in the middle of the flat stone. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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B.2.b. ***Skin tents with semi-arches over horizontal cross-bars***

I have seen such tents among Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, and it is from this area that I describe the following structure:—

[361] B.2.b.1. Three tents of this type were seen in the *Iregenaten* camp which comprised eight tents south of *I-n-abanjerit*. One of the tents was very large with a sheet measuring about 7.00×7.00 m, while the two others were comparatively small. The two small tents had a maximum height of about 1.50 m, while the large tent was about 1.70 m high. Structurally the three tents were identical, as follows:—

Three pairs of forked sticks with horizontal cross-bars were placed parallel to one another at right angles to the longitudinal direction. The middle pair of sticks was a good deal higher than the two outer pairs; the two central poles or sticks were called *igetten* (sing. *aget*) and the sticks of the two outer pairs *tigeffewin* (sing. *tegeffewt*). The three horizontal cross-bars were all known as *iregeragaten* (sing. *aregaraga*). The skeleton of these three cross-bars resting upon pairs of sticks had in addition two semi-arches known as *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). Each of these semi-arches consisted of two slender rods, tied together at their thin ends resting upon the central cross-bars to which they were also fastened with cords, while the thick ends of the semi-arches were tied to the two outer cross-bars close to their edges. This structure, we see, is not very different from the B.2.a.2 type. The sole distinction between these two types is that the latter has a central arch instead of a central cross-bar resting upon upright poles. Actually, the types B.2.b.1 and B.2.a.2 were seen in the same camp and constituted five out of the total eight tents found in it. The wooden structure of the B.2.b.1. tents was also made from boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). The sheet was attached to a number of poles, both in the front and at the back, while the narrow ends were kept close to the grounds by means of short wooden pegs. The ordinary *afezu* mats belonged to all three tents (Fig. 275).

[13] B.2.b.2. This is a very small tent depicted by Lhote from the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg around Gao. Its structure appears to be related to that just described (cf. Lhote 1947a, photo 79 p. 113).

[101] B.2.b.3. This is a most interesting type of skin tent which is described by Lhote from the south-western Tuareg – the *Tengerregif* and the *Kel Inteser*. The type is illustrated by excellent photographs which clearly indicate the structure, namely:— There are two long semi-arches each of which is made from two curved sticks lashed together. The semi-arches are attached at their thick ends to two horizontal cross-bars, each of which rests upon a pair of forked sticks. The horizontal cross-bars are very short so that the distance between the two parallel semi-arches which follow the longitudinal direction of the structure is also very short. The semi-arches are further supported by two other short cross-bars each resting upon two sticks. These sticks with their cross-bars are not always erected in the same way. In summer, the sticks are upright, while in winter they are placed obliquely towards the inside. All poles and sticks which make up the structure are buried solidly in the ground, and this is also the case with the very large number of poles placed along the sides for fastening the sheet. According to Lhote, some of these poles are termed *igem* and *ounousen* (*ummusen*), which words are also used in Ahaggar for certain poles. Though the structure is a very narrow one, these tents may nevertheless be very large as the sheet is fastened to many poles placed at some distance from the narrow structure (Lhote 1947a, p. 100, 160 f., photographs nos. 85–93 p. 128–129).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*342 The sheet rested upon the cross-bar frame and upon the outer cross-bars, being fastened to poles at the back and the front; it was kept close to the ground at the narrow ends where it was fastened to small wooden pegs. The tent sheet measured about 6.00×4.00 m and had five *tarda* (cf. p. 362). The whole structure was made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*).

B.2.g.8. The tent to be described under this heading is used among the *Kel Dennek*. It is structurally akin to the ordinary *Kel Dennek* tent mentioned above as B.2.g.6. (p. 379) but it is provided with a cross-bar frame much like that just mentioned from the *Iregenaten* Tuareg. The type is described by Nicolas. The central post is called *tageffut*, and has a prong at its top to support the frame known as *agegu* made from two sticks to which are tied three other sticks, one of which rests in the prong of the central post. The stick which rests in the prong is placed parallel to the longitudinal direction of the tent, and cords are fastened to the cross-bar frame and to four sticks as customary for *Kel Dennek* tents. Nicolas says of this cross-bar frame that it is a cross-bar "de fortune" (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154 Fig. 30 f.). He does not mention this type of cross-bar in his 1938 study of Tuareg tents, and we may perhaps take this as a proof that it is not very common among the *Kel Dennek*.

One might perhaps be tempted to take these two cross-bar frames as primitive types from which other types of cross-bars have developed, the evolution thus passing from the more elaborate to the more simple type. This, however, is hardly possible. It seems difficult to conceive the framelike cross-bars as a true development from a particular type of dwelling. They are most probably a kind of emergency cross-bars used because the more general type, which is made by blacksmiths, is not available for some reason or other. The ordinary type of cross-bar is no doubt the traditional and the oldest type. I revert to this again later in this chapter in my final analysis of Tuareg tents. Here I content myself with the statement that it seems as though the evolution of T-shaped posts followed another direction. They did not originate from the structurally more elaborate cross-bar frames. It may seem remarkable that the term used for a cross-bar frame among the *Kel Dennek* (*agegu* according to Nicolas) among the Northern Tuareg (*agegu*) designates a tent arch (cf. p. 356, 367). This term, however, does not literally refer to "arch". It derives from the verb *gagg* which means to "to load" or "to be loaded" with something (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 406 ff.). – I now come to my last [[84]] structural group of Tuareg skin tents. It is only represented among the Tuareg most to the south-west from where it has been recorded by Lhote:—

B.2.h. *Skin tents with two central oblique posts carrying a short cross-bar*

[101] B.2.h.1. The tent is found among the *Kel Inteser* Tuareg who live in the region of Lac Faguibine. It is supported by two central oblique posts which carry a slightly curved cross-bar of which a specimen collected by Lhote is conserved in the Musée de l'homme. It has a total length of about 0.45 m, and is 0.07 m broad. It has a decorated inner side and close to the edges two thickenings in which holes are carved for the two posts (Musée de l'homme, 41.19.870; cf. Lhote 1947a, Fig. 4 (2) p. 39, p. 117). Lhote has informed me verbally that the two posts are oblique, but that they do not cross each other, and that the cross-bar is also placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction. – I revert to this type later as it contributes to our knowledge of tent development among the Tuareg.

Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Adrar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, and the *Iwllemmeden Kél Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Taḍenaket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Atáram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ganet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echcheriffen* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraṛen*. A Tuareg of this tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Ajjer* now passed over to the chief of the *Uraṛen*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Ajjer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraṛen*, they retained their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 89; Blanguernon 1955, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

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